THE Dying Speeches OF Several Excellent PERSONS, WHO Suffered for their Zeal againſt *Popery*, and *Arbitrary Government*; *VIZ.*

I. Mr. *Stephen Colledg*, at *Oxford*, *Auguſt* 31. 1681.

II. The Lord *Ruſſel* in *Lincolns-Inn-Fields*, *July* 21. 1683.

III. Col. *Sidney*, on *Tower-Hill*, *December* 7. 1683.

IV. Col. *Rumbald*, at *Edinburgh*, *June* 26. 1685.

V. The Lady *Liſle*, at *Wincheſter*, in *September* 1685.

VI. Alderman *Corniſh*, in *Cheapſide*, *Octob.* 23. 1685.

VII. Capt. *Walcot*, at *Tyburn*, in *July* 20. 1683.

LONDON.

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TO THE
READER.

THO *ſome of theſe* Speeches *were Printed ſome Years ſince, and generally received by all ſorts of People with great Concern; but being in looſe Sheets, they are not ſo well preſerved, therefore I have thought fit to Collect them together, that ſo they may be often Reviewed, and that the Preſent and Future may with Abhorrency behold the Iniquity of the late Violent Times, when ſo many Excellent Perſons were deſtroyed by* Forms and Subtilties of Law; *and* Scribere eſt agere *was brought in for an Evidence (as in the Caſe of Col.* Sydney *)when no other could be found.*

And whereas the Buſineſs of the Ry-Houſe Plot *has been received by ſome as an Article of Faith, and a ſmooth Hiſtory of it has been impoſed on the Nation, therefore I thought good to add Colonel* Rumbald's *Speech to undeceive the World, by which it is evident (if we may believe the Dying words of a good Man) that was a meer Sham-Contrivance, to bring an Odium on* Proteſtants.

It has been always the Practice of the Papiſts *to make* Sham-Plots, *to render* Proteſtants *odious, and to hide*

the foulneſs of their own Real Plots, of which this Nation has had ſufficient Experience; eſpecially in their late Damnable Plot.. For when it was clearly proved on them, that they Conſpired againſt the Life of the late King, and our Government, they preſently Contrived to caſt that Wickedneſs on Proteſtants; *and too many of our eaſie* Church-men *were impos'd on to believeit. But through the Goodneſs of* God, *and the Auſpicious Arrival of the Prince of* Orange, *the Eyes of the Nation are opened, and now we hope we have an Opportunity to be Delivered (if our Sins prevent not) from the Plots and Tyranny of the Church of* Rome; *Which God in his Infinite Mercy grant.* Amen.

The

The Speech and Carriage of STEPHEN COLLEDGE, *at* Oxford *before the the Caſtle, on Wedneſday,* Auguſt 31, 1681. *Taken exactly from his own Mouth at the place of Execution.*

Mr. *High-Sheriff.* MR. *Colledge*, it is deſired for the Satisfaction of the World, becauſe you have profeſt your ſelf a Proteſtant, that you would tell what Judgment you are of.

Colledge. Dear People, dear Proteſtants, and dear Countrymen, I have been accuſed and convicted for Treaſon; the Laws adjudg me to this Death, and I come hither willingly to ſubmit to it: I pray God forgive all thoſe Perſons that had any hand in it. I do declare to you, whatever hath been ſaid of me, I was never a Papiſt, or ever that way inclin'd; they have done me wrong, I was ever a Proteſtant, I was born a Proteſtant, I have lived ſo, and ſo by the Grace of God I will die, of the Church of *England*, according to the beſt Reformation of the Church from all Idolatry, from all Superſtition, or any thing that is contrary to the Goſpel of our Bleſſed Lord and Saviour.

I do declare I was never in any Popiſh Service, Prayers or Devotions in my Life, ſave one time about ſome 17 or 18 Years ago, as near as I remember, I was, out of a Curioſity, one Afternoon at St. *James*'s Chappel, the Queen's Chappel at St. *James*'s; except that one time I never did hear any Popiſh Service, any thing of the Church of *Rome*, Maſs or Prayers, or any thing elſe private or publick. I know you expect that I ſhould ſay ſomething as to what I die for: It

hath been charged upon me, when I was apprehended & brought before the Council, ſome of the Council, the Secretary, and my Lord *Killingworth*, and Mr. *Seymour*, they told me there was Treaſon ſworn againſt me: truly, they ſurprized me when they ſaid ſo. For of all things in the World, I thought my ſelf as free from that as any Man. I asked them, if any Man living had the confidence to ſwear Treaſon againſt me? They ſaid ſeveral, three or four, as I remember: Then they to'd me, It was ſworn againſt me, That I had a Deſign to pull the King out of *White-hall*, and to ſerve him as his Father was ſerved, or to that purpoſe, the Logger-head his Father, or that kind of Language: I did deny it then, and do now deny it upon my Death. I never was in any manner of Plot in my days, neither one way nor another, never knew any ſuch Perſons, nor ever had ſuch Communication with any Man hitherto: I know of no Plot in the World but the Popiſh Plot, and that every Man may know as much as I: if I had had ſuch a Deſign, as theſe Men have ſworn againſt me, to have ſeized his Majeſty, either at *London*, or this place at *Oxford*, I take God to Witneſs, as I am a dying Man, and upon the Terms of my Salvation, I know not any one Man upon the Face of the Earth that would have ſtood by me; and how likely it was that I ſhould do ſuch a thing my ſelf, let the whole World judg.

Dugdale ſwears, That I ſpoke Treaſon to him, Treaſonable words in the Coffee-houſe, and in the Barbers-ſhop by the *Angel*; *He* could not pretend to ſee me any where elſe; but it is falſe, and a very unlikely thing that I ſhould ſpeak Treaſon to him. I muſt confeſs I was in his company at the Coffee-houſe, and that Barbers-ſhop before I went out of Town: but there could be no communication between us, for he was writing at one end of the Room, and eating a piece of Bread, and I lighted a Pipe of Tobacco at the other end and took it, till Sir *Tho. Player* and Sir *Rob. Clayton* came to me, and we went to my Lord *Lovelace*'s out of Town that night: So when they came, we took Horſe, and went out of Town with the reſt: For my part, I can't ſum up my Witneſſes, I was under moſt ſtrange Circumſtances as ever any Man was; I was kept Priſoner ſo cloſe in the *Tower*, that I could have no converſation with any, though I was certain the Popiſh Lords had it every day

day there, but I could have none: I could not tell the Witneſſes that were to ſwear againſt me: I could not tell what it was they ſwore againſt me, for I could have no Copy of the Indictment, nor no way poſſible to make any preparation to make my defence, as I ought to have done, and might have done by Law.

I had no liberty to do any thing, as I am as dying Man. And as to what *Dugdale*, *Smith*, *Turbervill* and *Heins* ſwore againſt me, they did ſwear ſuch Treaſon, that nothing but a mad Man would ever have truſted any Body with: and leaſt of all to Papiſts, every one of them that had been concerned with Plots and Treaſons among their own Party: and under the greateſt Ties and Obligations of Damnation; and to be Sainted if they kept it ſecret, and to be damned if they did reveal it. If theſe Men will not keep Things private for their own Party, how could I truſt them? I take God to Witneſs, and do freely acknowledg, I have ſought my God with Tears ſeveral times to inform me, if ſo be I had with any Word tranſgreſt at any time. I knew not of any part of what they ſwore againſt me, till ſuch time as I heard it ſworn againſt me at the Bar.

This is very hard, Gentlemen, but this is the Truth: and there be a great many other ſtrange Reports that I have heard ſince I have been a Priſoner: That I ſhould be a means to convert the Counteſs of *Rocheſter*, by bringing one *Thompſon* a Prieſt to her. Truly all that I was concerned in, was ſome 15 or 16 Years ago. I lodged at Colonel *Vernon*'s, that married the Lady *Brooks*, the Family were Papiſts: The *Brookſes* were Papiſts, and there was this *Thomſon*, and I did ſuppoſe him a Prieſt, in the Houſe, though I never ſaw him at Popiſh Service or Worſhip, though I was there half a Year; but coming afterwards to My Lord *Rocheſter's* about ſome Buſineſs, I had to do for him, and ſeveral other Perſons of Quality; he ſent for me one Afternoon from the Parſonage in *Adderbury* to his Houſe, and his Lady and he ſtood together: He ſent to me, and asked me, if my Horſe were at Home, ſaid he, I would have you carry this Letter to Mr. *Thompſon*, if you are at leſſure this Afternoon: My Lord, I am at leiſure to ſerve you; ſo I took a Letter from his Hand, and his Ladies too, as I remember (he made an offer that way) ſealed with his own Seal,

and I carried it to *Thompſon*, and delivered it to him: and he old me, that he would wait upon my Lord, for it was for ſome Lands my Lord did offer to raiſe Mony for ſome Occaſion: this is the Truth of that Scandal.

It is ſaid, that I had a Prieſt ſeveral Years in my Houſe, *viz. Sergeant*, that came over from *Holland* to diſcover. About ſome Ten years ago, that very ſame Man came to me, but was a ſtranger to me, and he came to me by the Name of Doctor *Smith* a Phyſician: and there was an Apothecary in the *Old-Baily*, and a Linnen-Draper within *Ludgate*, that came with him, they brought him thither, and took a Chamber, and lay about half a Year, or three quarters at times, by the Name of Doctor *Smith*, and as a Phyſician: this is the Truth of that, and no otherwiſe. This is the entertainment of *Sergeant*.

So the occaſion of my coming to *Oxford* I do ſay was voluntary, the Parliament-Men, laſt Parliament at *Weſtmineſter*, and ſeveral Lords, dined together the day before they ſat; the laſt Seſſions of Parliament at *Weſtminiſter* they ſent for me to the *Sun* Tavern behind the *Exchange*, and when I came, the Duke of *Monmouth*, and ſeveral Lords were together, and I believe above 100 Parliament-Men of the Commons: The Duke of *Monmouth* called me to him, and told me, he had heard a good Report of me, and that I was an honeſt Man and one that may be truſted; and they did not know but their Enemies, the Papiſts, might have ſome Deſign to ſerve them as they did in King *James*'s time by Gun-powder, or any other way: And the Duke, with ſeveral Lords and Commons, did deſire me to uſe my utmoſt skill in ſearching all places ſuſpected by them, which I did perform: and from thence I had, as I think, the Popular name of *the Proteſtant Joiner*, becauſe they had intruſted me before any Man in *England* to do that Office.

This ſame *Heines*, one of them that Swore againſt me, had diſcovered to me, and ſeveral others, as to *Macknamarra* and his brother, and this *Ivey*, who are now all of another ſtamp, that the Parliament was to be deſtroyed at *Oxford*, and that there was a deſign to murder my L. *Shaftsbury*, by *Fitzgerald* and his Party; and that they did endeavour to bring *Macknamarra* over to him, and ſaid, then it would be well with him: and they would not be long before they had *Shaftsbury's* Life: and

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he made Depoſitions of this to Sir *George Treby*, as I heard afterwards, for I was not with him when it was Sworn. I wiſh the Commons of *England*, as well as I wiſh my own Heart; and I did not underſtand, but when I ſerved the Parliament, I ſerved his Majeſty too, and let them be miſerable that make the difference between them, for my part I never did. I came to *Oxford* with my Lord *Howard*, whom I look upon to be a very honeſt worthy Gentlemen, my L. *Clare*, my L. *Paget*, and my L. *Huntington*, and this Captain *Brown* and *Don Lewis* were in my Company, and came along with us, as they were my Lord *Howard*'s Friends; *Brown* I have known I believe two or three Months; but *Lewis* I never ſaw before that day: They ſaid, they came with my Lord *Howard*. I take God to Witneſs, I never had one 6 *d.* or any thing elſe, to carry on any Deſign; and if it were to ſave my Life now, I cannot charge any Man in the World with any Deſign againſt the Government, as God is my Witneſs, or againſt his Majeſty, or any other Perſon.

As for what Arms I had, and what Arms others had, they were for our own Defence, in caſe the Papiſts ſhould make any attempt upon us by way of Maſſacre, or any Invaſion or Rebellion, that we ſhould be ready to defend our ſelves; God is my Witneſs, this is all I know. If this be a Plot, this I was in, but in no other, but never knew of any Numbers or Times appointed for meeting: but we have ſaid, one to another, that the Papiſts had a Deſign againſt the Proteſtants, when we did meet, as I was a Man of general Converſation; and in caſe they ſhould riſe, we were ready, but then they ſhould begin the Attempt upon us: This was my Buſineſs, and is the Buſineſs of every good Subject that loves the Laws of his Country and his King. For *England* can never hope to be happy under thoſe Blood-thirſty Men, whoſe Religion is Blood and Murder, which I do, with all my Soul, and did, ever ſince I knew what Religion was, abhor and deteſt, *viz.* the Church of *Rome* as pernicious and deſtructive to humane Societies, and all Government.

I beſeech God that every Man of you may unite together as Proteſtants againſt this common Foe. Gentlemen, it is my ſenſe, and I do in that believe, I am as certainly murdered by the

the Hands of the Papiſts, as Sir *Edm. Bury Godfrey* himſelf was, though the Thing is not ſeen. Theſe Witneſſes certainly are mercenary Men, and I beſeech God Almighty to have Mercy upon their Souls, and forgive them; and either by his Judgments or Mercies reclaim them, that they ſhed no more innocent Blood: There is not a Man of them that I know of, that ever heard me ſay or do any bit of Treaſon in my Life. This is (the firſt I may not ſay it is) but almoſt the Twentieth Sham-Plot that they have endeavoured to put upon the Nation, to delude the People, and put off their own Damnable Plot. This is not the firſt, but I think the ſixteenth or ſeventeenth; I pray God that my Blood may be the laſt. I pray God defend every Man's Blood, and all Proteſtants in *England*, from the Hands of theſe bloody Papiſts, by whoſe means I die this Death: And if they ſhall go on in this Nature, I hope the Good God will open every Man's Eyes to ſee it before he feels it. And, I beſeech you, if you have any love for your King, your Country, and the Proteſtants, unite together if you are Proteſtants. I pray God thoſe that deſerve the Name, let them be called how they will, either Diſſenters or Church of *England* Men, that they may unite together like Men, like Chriſtians, againſt the Common Foe, who will ſpare neither the one ſide nor the other, but beat you one againſt another like two Pitchers; the laſt that ſtands, they will certainly deſtroy if they can. This is my Senſe, and God is my Witneſs, I ſpeak my Conſcience; I do not know, Mr. *Sheriff*, whether there be any thing elſe I have to ſay, (or no; we have a good God, and I beſeech every Man that hears me this day, (for we live in a ſinful Age, good People, and it behoves every one of you, it cannot be long before all that look upon me in this Condition muſt lie down in the Duſt, and, God knows, muſt come into an Eternal State, either for Mercy or for Judgment). I beſeech you, in the Name of God, he is a God of Mercy, and a God of Patience and Long-ſuffering, that you would break off your Sins by Repentance, and ſerve a good God, who muſt be your Friend at laſt, or elſe you are loſt to Eternity.

O Lord, how ungrateful Wretches are we, that have a God of ſuch infinite Mercy and Goodneſs, that affords us our Life, our Health, and a thouſand Mercies every day; and we, like ungrateful

ungrateful People, not deſerving the Name of Men or Chriſtians, live riotous Lives, in Debauchery and Swearing, in Malice, and the Lord knows how many Evils. I beſeech God that I may be this day a Means in the Hand of God, to bring ſome of their Souls over to him: I beſeech you remember what I ſay; indeed I do not know, I have been ſo ſtrangely uſed ſince I have been a Priſoner, what to ſay, being brought from one Affliction to another, that my Body is worn out, and my Memory and Intellects have failed me much to what they were. I cannot remember what I have to ſay more, but that the Lord Jeſus Chriſt would bleſs my Country, and preſerve it from Popery, and in mercy bleſs his Majeſty: Good God be merciful to him, make him an Inſtrument in thy Hand to defend his Proteſtant Subjects; Lord in mercy defend him from his Enemies. Good God bleſs this People; good Lord continue the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, thy Goſpel in its purity to us and our Poſterity, as long as the Sun and Moon endure. O Lord ſave all that call upon thee; be merciful to all thy Servants, all thy People that put their truſt in thee; good Lord deliver them from the Hand of their Enemies; good God, let their Lives, and Bodies, and Souls, be all precious in thy ſight. O merci-God, put a ſtop to theſe moſt wicked Conſpiracies of thy Enemies, and the Nation's Enemies, the Papiſts. Let no more Proteſtant Blood be ſhed but this of mine, I beſeech thee, O my God. O Lord look upon me, O Lord bleſs me, O good God receive me into thy bleſſed Preſence, by Jeſus Chriſt my alone Saviour and Redeemer, in whom alone I put my truſt for Salvation: It is thee, O God, that I truſt in, thou Righteous Judg of Heaven and Earth: All Popery, all Pardons, all Popes and Prieſts, all Diſpenſations I diſown, and will not go out of the World with a Lie in my Mouth. From the ſincerity of my Heart I declare again, that what I have ſaid to you is the very Sentiments of my Soul, as God ſhall have Mercy upon me, and to the beſt of my knowledg.

I deſire the Prayers of you, good People, while I am here; and once more I beſeech you to think upon Eternity, every one of you that hear me this day. The Lord turn your Hearts and Souls, if you have been wicked Livers; if you do live wicked Lives, the Lord in Mercy convert you, and ſhew you

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your Danger; for I as little thought to come to this as any Man that hears me this day; and, I bleſs God, I have no more deſerved it from the Hands of Men, than the Child that ſucks at his Mothers Breaſt: I bleſs my God for it, and do ſay, I have been a Sinner againſt my God, and he hath learn'd me Grace ever ſince I have been a Priſoner. I bleſs my God for a Priſon, I bleſs my God for Afflictions, I bleſs my God that ever I was reſtrained, for I never knew my ſelf till he had taken me out of the World. Therefore you that have your Liberties, and Time, and precious Opportunities, be up and be doing for God and for your Souls, every one of you.

To his Son. Where is my dear Child?

Mr. Sheriff. I made one Requeſt to you, and you gave me an imperfect Anſwer: You ſaid you were of the beſt Reform'd Church in the World, the Church of *England*, according to the beſt Reformation in the World: I deſire you, for the Satisfaction of the World, to declare what Church that is, Whether Presbyterian, or Independent, or the Church of *England*, or what?

Colledge. Good Mr. *Sheriff*, for your ſatisfaction: For twenty Years and above I was under the Presbyterian Miniſtry till his Majeſty's Reſtauration; then I was conformable to the Church of *England* when that was reſtored, and ſo continued till ſuch time as I ſaw perſecution upon the Diſſenting People, and very undue things done to their Meeting-places; then I went among them to know what kind of People thoſe were: And I do take God to Witneſs, ſince that time I have uſed their Meetings, *viz.* the Presbyterians, others very ſeldom, and the Church of *England*. I did hear Dr. *Tillotſon* not above three weeks before I was taken. I heard the Church of *England* as frequently as I heard the Diſſenters, and never had any Prejudice, God is my Witneſs, againſt either, but always heartily deſired that they might unite, and be Lovers and Friends, and had no prejudice againſt any Man; and truly I am afraid that it is not for the Nation's Good that there ſhould be ſuch Heart-burnings between them: That ſome of

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the Church of *England* will preach that the *Presbyterians* are worse than the *Papists*. God doth know that what I say, I speak freely from my Heart, I have found many among them truly serving God, and so I have of all the rest that have come into my company; Men without any manner of design but to serve God, serve his Majesty, and keep their Liberties and Properties; Men that I am certain are not of vicious Lives; I found no Dammers, or those kind of People among them, or at least few of them.

To his Son, Kissing him several times with great passion. Dear Child, Farewel, the Lord have mercy upon thee. Good people, let me have your prayers to God Almighty to receive my Soul.

And then he Prayed: And as soon as he had done, spake as followeth:

The Lord have Mercy upon my Enemies, and I beseech you good people who ever you are, and the whole World that I have offended, to forgive me, whom ever I have offended in word or deed, I ask every Mans pardon, and I forgive the World with all my Soul, all the Injuries I have received, and I beseech God Almighty forgive those poor Wretches who have cast away their Souls, or at least endangered them to ruine this Body of mine: I beseech God that they may have a sight of their Sins, and that they may find Mercy at his hands: Let my Blood speak the Justice of my Cause.

I have done: And God have Mercy upon you all.

To Mr. *Crosthwait.* Pray Sir, my Service to Dr. *Hall*, and Dr. *Reynall*, and thank them for all their Kindnesses to me; I thank you Sir for your Kindness: The Lord bless you all. Mr. Sheriff, God be with you: God be with you all good People.

The Executioner Ketch *desired his pardon.* And he said, I do forgive you. The Lord have mercy on my Soul.

The SPEECH *of the late Lord* RUSSEL, *to the Sheriffs: Together with the* PAPER *delivered by him to them, at the Place of Execution, on* July 21. 1683.

Mr. Sheriff,

I Expected the Noise would be such, that I could not be very well heard: I was never fond of much Speaking, much less now; Therefore I have set down in this Paper, all that I think fit to leave behind me. God knows how far I was always from Designs against the King's Person, or of altering the Government; and I still pray for the preservation of both, and of the Protestant Religion.

I am told, that Captain *Walcot* has said some things concerning my knowledg of the Plot: I know not whether the Report is true, or not; I hope it is not; For to my knowledg, I never saw him, or spake with him in my whole Life; and in the Words of a dying Man, I profess I know of no Plot, either against the King's Life, or the Government. But I have now done with this World, and am going to a better. I forgive all the World, and I thank God I die in Charity with all Men; and I wish all sincere Protestants may love one another, and not make way for Popery by their Animosities.

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The PAPER *deliver'd to the* SHERIFFS.

I Thank God, I find my ſelf ſo compoſed and prepared for Death, and my Thoughts ſo fixed on another World, that I hope in God, I am now quite weaned from ſetting my Heart on this. Yet I cannot forbear ſpending ſome time now, in ſetting down in Writing a fuller Account of my Condition, to be left behind me, than I'll venture to ſay at the place of Execution, in the Noiſe and Clutter that is like to be there. I bleſs God heartily for thoſe many Bleſſings, which he in his infinite Mercy has beſtowed upon me, through the whole Courſe of my Life: That I was born of worthy good Parents, and had the Advantages of a Religious Education, which I have often thank'd God very heartily for, and look'd upon as an invaluable Bleſſing: For even when I minded it leaſt, it ſtill hung about me, and gave me checks, and has now for many Years ſo influenced and poſſeſſed me, that I feel the happy Effects of it in this my Extremity, in which I have been ſo wonderfully (I thank God) ſupported, that neither my Impriſonment, nor the Fear of Death, have been able to diſcompoſe me to any degree; but on the contrary, I have found the Aſſurances of the Love and Mercy of God, in and through my bleſſed Redeemer, in whom only I truſt; and I do not queſtion, but that I am going to partake of that Fulneſs of Joy which is in his preſence, the hopes whereof does ſo wonderfully delight me, that I reckon this as the happieſt time of my Life, tho others may look upon it as the ſaddeſt.

I have lived, and now die of the Reformed Religion, a true and ſincere Proteſtant, and in the Communion of the Church of *England*, tho I could never yet comply with, or riſe up to all the heights of many People. I wiſh with all my Soul, all our unhappy Differences were removed, and that all ſincere Proteſtants would ſo far conſider the Danger of Popery, as to lay aſide their Heats, and agree againſt the Common Enemy; and that the Churchmen would be leſs ſevere, and the Diſſenters leſs ſcrupulous: For I think Bitterneſs and Perſecution are at all times bad, but much more now.

For Popery, I look on it as an Idolatrous and Bloody Religion; and therefore thought my ſelf bound, in my Station, to do all I could againſt it. And by that, I foreſaw I ſhould procure ſuch great Enemies to my ſelf, and ſo powerful Ones, that I have been now for ſome time expecting the worſt. And bleſſed be God, I fall by

the Ax, and not by the Fiery Tryal. Yet, whatever Apprehensions I had of *Popery*, and of my own severe and heavy share I was like to have under it when it should prevail, I never had a Thought of doing any thing against it basely, or inhumanly, but what could well consist with the Christian Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom. And I thank God, I have examin'd all my actings in that Matter, with so great Care, that I can appeal to God Almighty, who knows my Heart, that I went on Sincerely, without being moved, either by Passion, By-End, or Ill-Design. I have always loved my Country much more than my Life; and never had any Design of changing the Government, which I value, and look upon as one of the best Governments in the World, and would always have been ready to venture my Life for the preserving of it, and would have suffered any Extremity, rather than have consented to any Design to take away the King's Life: Neither ever had Man the Impudence to propose so base and barbarous a thing to me. And I look upon it as a very unhappy, and uneasy part of my present Condition, That in my Indictment, there should be so much as mention of so vile a Fact; tho nothing in the least was said to prove any such Matter; but the contrary, by the Lord *Howard*: Neither does any Body, I am confident, believe the least of it. So that I need not, I think, say more.

For the King, I do sincerely pray for Him, and wish well to Him, and to the Nation, That they may be happy in one another; that he may be indeed the Defender of the Faith; That the Protestant Religion, and the Peace, and Safety of the Kingdom may be preserved, and flourish under His Government; and that He in His Person may be happy, both here and hereafter.

As for the share I had in the Prosecution of the Popish Plot, I take God to witness, That I proceeded in it in the Sincerity of my Heart; being then really convinced (as I am still) that there was a Conspiracy against the King, the Nation, and the Protestant Religion: And I likewise profess, That I never knew any thing, either directly or indirectly, of any Practice with the Witnesses; which I look upon as so horrid a thing, that I could never have endured it. For, I thank God, Falshood and Cruelty were never in my Nature, but always the farthest from it imaginable. I did believe, and do still, That Popery is breaking in upon the Nation; and that those who advance it, will stop at nothing, to carry on their Design: I am heartily sorry that so many Protestants give their helping Hand

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to it. But I hope God will preſerve the Proteſtant Religion, and this Nation: though I am afraid it will fall under very great Tryals, and very ſharp Sufferings. And indeed the Impiety and Profaneneſs that abounds, and appears ſo ſcandalouſly bare-fac'd every-where, gives to juſt reaſon to fear the worſt things which can befall a People. I pray God prevent it, and give thoſe who have ſhewn Concern for the Publick Good, and who have appear'd Hearty for the true Intereſt of the Nation, and the Proteſtant Religion, Grace to live ſo, that they may not caſt a Reproach on that which they endeavour to advance; which (God knows) has often given me many ſad Thoughts. And I hope ſuch of my Friends as may think they are touch'd by this, will not take what I ſay in ill part, but endeavour to amend their ways, and live ſuitable to the Rules of the true Reformed Religion; which is the only thing can adminiſter true Comfort at the latter End, and revive a Man when he comes to Die.

As for my preſent Condition, I bleſs God I have no repining in my heart at it. I know for my Sins I have deſerved much worſe at the Hands of God; So that I chearfully ſubmit to ſo ſmall a Puniſhment, as the being taken off a few Years ſooner, and the being made a Spectacle to the World. I do freely forgive all the World, particularly thoſe concerned in taking away my Life; and I deſire and conjure my Friends to think of no Revenge, but to ſubmit to the Holy Will of God, into whoſe Hands I reſign my ſelf entirely.

But to look back a little, I cannot but give ſome touch about the Bill of Excluſion, and ſhew the Reaſons of my appearing in that Buſineſs; which in ſhort is this: That I thought the Nation was in ſuch danger of Popery, and that the Expectation of a *Popiſh Succeſſor* (as I have ſaid in Parliament) put the King's Life likewiſe in ſuch danger, that I ſaw no way ſo effectual to ſecure both, as ſuch a Bill. As to the Limitations which were propoſed, if they were ſincerely offered, and had paſs'd into a Law, the Duke then would have been excluded from the power of a King, and the Government quite altered, and little more than the Name of a King left. So I could not ſee either Sin or Fault in the one, when all People were willing to admit of the other; but thought it better to have a King with his Prerogative, and the Nation eaſie and ſafe under him, than a King without it, which muſt have bred perpetual Jealouſies, and a continual Struggle. All this I ſay only to juſtifie my ſelf, and not to enflame others: Though I cannot but think my Earneſtneſs in that Matter has had no ſmall Influence in my preſent Sufferings.

But

But I have now done with this World, and am going to a Kingdom which cannot be moved.

And as to the conſpiring to ſeize the Guards, which is the Crime for which I am condemned, and which was made a conſtructive Treaſon for taking away the King's Life, to bring it within the Statute of *Edward* the 3*d*. I ſhall give this true and clear Account. I never was at Mr. *Shepheard*'s with that Company but once, and there was no undertaking then of ſecuring, or ſeizing the Guards; nor none appointed to view or examine them: Some Diſcourſe there was of the Feaſibleneſs of it; and ſeveral times by accident, in general Diſcourſe elſewhere, I have heard it mention'd, as a thing might eaſily be done, but never conſented to as fit to be done. And I remember particularly at my Lord *Shaftsbury*'s there being ſome general Diſcourſe of this kind, I immediately flew out and exclaim'd againſt it, and ask'd, If the thing ſucceeded, what muſt be done next but maſſacring the Guards, and killing them in cold blood? Which I lookt upon as ſo deteſtable a thing, and ſo like a Popiſh Practice, that I could not but abhor it. And at the ſame time the Duke of *Monmouth* took me by the hand, and told me very kindly, My Lord, I ſee you and I are of a Temper; Did you ever hear ſo horrid a thing? And I muſt needs do him that Juſtice to declare, That I never obſerved in him but an Abhorrence to all baſe things.

As to my going to Mr. *Shepheard*'s, I went with an intent to taſte *Sherry*, for he had promiſed to reſerve for me the next very good Piece he met with, when I went out of Town; and if he recollects, he may remember I ask'd him about it, and he went and fetch'd a Bottle; but when I taſted it, I ſaid 'twas hot in the Mouth; and deſired that whenever he met with a choice Piece, he would keep it for me: which he promiſed. I enlarge the more upon this, becauſe Sir *George Gefferies* inſinuated to the Jury as if I had made a Story about going thither; but I never ſaid that was the only Reaſon. And I will now truly and plainly add the reſt.

I was the day before this Meeting, come to Town, for two or three days, as I had done once or twice before; having a very near and dear Relation lying in a very languiſhing and deſperate Condition: And the Duke of *Monmouth* came to me, and told me, He was extremely glad I was come to Town; for my Lord *Shaftsbury*, and ſome hot Men would undo us all: How ſo, my Lord, ſaid I? Why (anſwered he) they'll certainly do ſome diſorderly thing or

other

other, if great Care be not taken, and therefore for God's ſake uſe your Endeavours with your Friends to prevent any thing of this kind. He told me, there would be Company at Mr. *Shepheard*'s that Night, and deſired me to be at home in the Evening, and he would call me; which he did: And when I came into the Room, I ſaw Mr. *Rumſey* by the Chimney; though he ſwears he came in after; and there were things ſaid by ſome with much more Heat than Judgment, which I did ſufficiently diſapprove, and yet for theſe things I ſtand condemned. But I thank God my part was ſincere, and well meant. It is, I know, inferred from hence, and was preſſed to me, that I was acquainted with theſe Heats and ill Deſigns, and did not diſcover them. But this is but Miſpriſion of Treaſon at moſt. So I die innocent of the Crime I ſtand condemn'd for, and I hope no body will imagine that ſo mean a Thought could enter into me, as to go about to ſave my ſelf, by accuſing others. The part that ſome have acted lately of that kind, has not been ſuch as to invite me to love Life at ſuch a rate.

As for the Sentence of Death paſſed upon me, I cannot but think it a very hard one. For nothing was ſworn againſt me (whether true or falſe I will not now examine) but ſome Diſcourſes about making ſome Stirs. And this is not levying War againſt the King, which is Treaſon by the Statute of *Edward* the Third, and not the Conſulting and Diſcourſing about it, which was all that was witneſſed againſt me. But, by a a ſtrange Fetch, the Deſign of Seizing the Guards was conſtrued a Deſign of Killing the King; and ſo I was in that caſe.

And now I have truly and ſincerely told what my part was in that, which cannot be more than a base Miſpriſion; and yet I am condemned as guilty of a Deſign of killing the King. I pray God lay not this to the charge, neither of the King's Counſel, nor Judges, nor Sheriffs, nor Jury: And for the Witneſſes, I pity them, and wish them well. I ſhall not reckon up the Particulars wherein they did me wrong; I had rather their own Conſciences ſhould do that; to which, and the Mercies of God, I leave them. Only I ſtill avert, That what I ſaid of my not hearing Col. *Rumſey* deliver any Meſſage from my Lord *Shaftsbury*, was true; for I always deteſted Lying, though never ſo much to my advantage. And I hope none will be ſo unjuſt and unchariteable, as to think I would venture on it in theſe my laſt Words, for which I am ſo ſoon to give an Account to

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the Great God, the Searcher of Hearts, and Judge of all Things.

From the time of chuſing Sheriffs, I concluded the Heat in that Matter would produce ſomething of this kind; and I am not much ſurprized to find it fall upon me. And I wiſh what is done to me, may put a ſtop, and ſatiate ſome Peoples Revenge, and that no more innocent Blood be ſhed; for I muſt, and do ſtill look upon mine as ſuch, ſince I know I was guilty of no Treaſon; and therefore I would not betray my Innocence by Flight, of which I do not (I thank God) yet repent, (though much preſſed to it) how fatal ſoever it may have ſeem'd to have proved to me; for I look upon my Death in this manner (I thank God) with other eyes than the World does. I know I ſaid but little at the Trial, and I ſuppoſe it looks more like Innocence than Guilt. I was alſo advis'd not to confeſs Matter of Fact plainly, ſince that muſt certainly have brought me within the guilt of Miſpriſion. And being thus reſtrained from dealing franky and openly, I choſe rather to ſay little, than to depart from that Ingenuity, that (by the Grace of God) I had carried along with me in the former part of my Life, and ſo could eaſier be ſilent, and leave the whole Matter to the Conſcience of the Jury, than to make the laſt and ſolemneſt part of my Life ſo different from the Courſe of it, as the uſing little Tricks and Evaſions muſt have been. Nor did I ever pretend to a great readineſs in Speaking: I wiſh thoſe Gentlemen of the Law, who have it, would make more Conſcience in the uſe of it, and not run Men down, and by Strains and Fetches impoſe on eaſie and willing Juries, to the ruine of innocent Men: For to kill by Forms and Subtilties of Law, is the worſt ſort of Murther. But I wiſh the Rage of hot Men, and the Partialities of Juries, may be ſtopp'd with my Blood, which I would offer up with ſo much the more Joy, if I thought I ſhould be the laſt were to ſuffer in ſuch a way.

Since my Sentence, I have had but few Thoughts, but Preparatory ones for Death; Yet the Importunity of my Friends, and particularly of the Beſt and Deareſt Wife in the World, prevailed with me to Sign Petitions, and make an Addreſs for my Life: To which I was very averſe. For (I thank God) though in all reſpects I have lived one of the happieſt and contented'ſt Men of the World (for now very near fourteen years) yet I am ſo willing to leave all, that it was not without Difficulty that I did any thing for the ſaving of my Life, that was Begging. But I was willing to let my Friends ſee what Power they had over me, and that I was not Obſtinate nor Sullen,

Sullen, but would do any thing that an honeſt Man could do, for their Satisfaction. Which was the only Motive that ſway'd, or had any weight with me.

And now to ſum up all: As I never had any Deſign againſt the King's Life, or the Life of any Man whatſoever; ſo I never was in any Contrivance of altering the Government. What the Heats, Wickedneſs, Paſſions and Vanities of other Men have occaſioned, I ought not to be anſwerable for; nor could I repreſs them, though I now ſuffer for them. But the Will of the Lord be done; into whoſe Hands I commend my Spirit; and truſt that thou, O moſt Merciful Father, haſt forgiven me all my Tranſgreſſions; the Sins of my Youth, and all the Errors of my Life; and that Thou wilt not lay my ſecret Sins and Ignorances to my Charge; but wilt graciouſly ſupport me during that ſmall part of my Time now before me, and aſſiſt me in my laſt Moments, and not leave me then to be diſorder'd by Fear, or any other Temptation; but make the Light of thy Countenance to ſhine upon me, for Thou art my Sun and my Shield: And as Thou ſupporteſt me by thy Grace, ſo I hope thou wilt hereafter Crown me with Glory, and receive me into the Fellowſhip of Angels and Saints, in that bleſſed Inheritance purchaſed for me by my moſt merciful Redeemer; who is, I truſt, at thy Right-hand, preparing a place for me, and is ready to receive me: into whoſe Hands I commend my Spirit.

The very Copy of a Paper delivered to the Sheriffs, upon the Scaffold on Tower-Hill, *on* Friday December 7. 1683. *By* Algernon Sidney, *Esq; before his Execution there.*

Men, Brethren, and Fathers; Friends, Countrymen, and Strangers;

IT may be expected that I ſhould now ſay ſome Great Matters unto you, but the Rigour of the Seaſon, and the Infirmities of my Age, encreaſed by a cloſe Impriſonment of above Five Months, doth not permit me.

Moreover, we live in an Age that maketh Truth paſs for Treaſon: I dare not ſay any-thing contrary unto it, and the Ears of thoſe that are about me will probably be found too tender to hear it. My Tryal and Condemnation doth ſufficiently evidence this.

Weſt, *Rumſey*, and *Keyling*, who were brought to prove the Plot, ſaid no more of me, than that they knew me not; and ſome others equally known unto me, had uſed my Name, and that of ſome others, to give a little Reputation unto their Deſigns. The Lord *Howard* is too infamous by his Life, and the many Perjuries not to be denied, or rather ſworn by himſelf, to deſerve mention; and being a ſingle Witneſs would be of no value, though he had been of unblemiſhed Credit, or had not ſeen and confeſſed that the Crimes committed by him would be pardoned only for committing more; and even the Pardon promiſed could not be obtained till the Drudgery of Swearing was over.

This being laid aſide, the whole Matter is reduced to the Papers ſaid to be found in my Cloſet by the King's Officers, without any other

other Proof of their being Written by me, than what is taken from the ſuppoſitions upon the ſimilitude of an Hand that is eaſily Counterfeited, and which hath been lately declared in the Lady *Car*'s Caſe to be no Lawful Evidence in Criminal Cauſes.

But if I had been ſeen to write them, the matter would not be much altered. They plainly appear to relate unto a large Treatiſe written long ſince in anſwer to *Filmer*'s Book, which by all Intelligent Men is thought to be grounded upon wicked Principles, equally pernicious unto Magiſtrates and People.

If he might publiſh unto the World his Opinion, That all Men are born under a neceſſity derived from the Laws of God and Nature, to ſubmit unto an Abſolute Kingly Government, which could be reſtrained by no Law, or Oath; and that he that hath the Power, whether he came unto it by Creation, Election, Inheritance, Uſurpation, or any other way had the Right; and none muſt oppoſe his Will, but the Perſons and Eſtates of his Subjects muſt be indiſpenſably ſubject unto it. I know not why I might not have publiſhed my Opinion to the contrary, without the breach of any Law I have yet known.

I might as freely as he, publickly have declared my Thoughts, and the Reaſons upon which they were grounded, and I perſuaded to believe, That God had left Nations unto the Liberty of ſetting up ſuch Governments as beſt pleaſed themſelves.

That Magiſtrates were ſet up for the good of Nations, not Nations for the honour or glory of Magiſtrates.

That the Right and Power of Magiſtrates in every Country, was that which the Laws of that Country made it to be.

That thoſe Laws were to be obſerved, and the Oaths taken by them, having the force of a Contract between Magiſtrate and People, could not be Violated without danger of diſſolving the whole Fabrick.

That Uſurpation could give no Right. and the moſt dangerous of all Enemies unto Kings were they, who raiſing their Power to an Exorbitant Height, allowed unto Uſurpers all the Rights belonging unto it.

That ſuch Uſurpations being ſeldom Compaſſed without the Slaughter of the Reigning Perſon, or Family, the worſt of all Villanies was thereby rewarded with the moſt Glorious Privileges.

That if ſuch Doctrines were received, they would ſtir up Men to the Deſtruction of Princes with more Violence then all the

Paſſions that have hitherto raged in the Hearts of the moſt Unruly.

That none could be Safe, if ſuch a Reward were propoſed unto any that could deſtroy them.

That few would be ſo gentle as to ſpare even the Beſt, if by their deſtruction of a Wild Uſurper could become God's Anointed; and by the moſt execrable Wickedneſs invett himſelf with that Divine Character.

This is the Scope of the whole Treatiſe; the Writer gives ſuch Reaſons as at preſent did occur unto him to prove it. This ſeems to agree with the Doctrines of the moſt Reverenced Authors of all Times, Nations and Religions. The beſt and wiſeſt Kings have ever acknowledged it. The preſent King of *France* hath declared that Kings have that happy want of Power, that they can do nothing contrary unto the Laws of their Country, and grounds his Quarrel with the King of *Spain*, *Anno* 1667, upon that Principle. King *James* in his Speech to the Parliament *Anno* 1603, doth in the higheſt degree aſſert it: The Scripture ſeems to declare it. If nevertheleſs the Writer was miſtaken, he might have been refuted by Law, Reaſon and Scripture; and no Man for ſuch matters was ever otherwiſe puniſhed, than by being made to ſee his Errour; and it hath not (as I think) been ever known that they had been referred to the Judgment of a Jury, compoſed of Men utterly unable to comprehend them.

But there was little of this in my Caſe; the extravagance of my Proſecutors goes higher: The above-mentioned Treatiſe was never Finiſhed, nor could be in many Years, and moſt probably would never have been. So much as is of it was written long ſince, never reviewed nor ſhewn unto any Man; and the fiftieth part of it was produced, and not the tenth of that afford to be read. That which was never known unto thoſe who are ſaid to have Conſpired with me, was ſaid to be intended to ſtir up the People in Proſecution of the Deſigns of thoſe Conſpirators.

When nothing of particular Application unto Time, Place, or Perſon could be found in it, (as hath ever been done by thoſe who endeavour'd to raiſe Inſurrections) all was ſupplied by *Innuendo's*.

Whatſoever is ſaid of the Expulſion of *Tarquin*, the Inſurrection againſt *Nero*; The Slaughter of *Caligula*, or *Domitian*; The Tranſlation of the Crown of *France* from *Merovius* his Race unto *Pepin*; and from his Deſcendants unto *Hugh Capet*, and the like applied by *Innuendo* unto the King.

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They have not conſidered, that if ſuch Acts of State be not good, there is not a King in the World that has any Title to the Crown he bears; nor can have any, unleſs he could deduce his Pedigree from the Eldeſt Son of *Noah*, and ſhew that the Succeſſion had ſtill continued in the Eldeſt of the Eldeſt Line, and been ſo deduced to him.

Every one may ſee what advantage this would be to all the Kings of the World; and whether that failing, it were not better for them to acknowledg they had received their Crowns by the Conſent of Willing Nations; or to have no better Title unto them than Uſurpation and Violence, which by the ſame ways may be taken from them.

But I was long ſince told that I muſt Die, or the Plot muſt Die.

Leſt the means of deſtroying the beſt Proteſtants in *England* ſhould fail, the Bench muſt be filled with ſuch as had been Blemiſhes to the Bar.

None but ſuch as theſe would have Adviſed with the King's Council, of the means of bringing a Man to Death; Suffered a Jury to be packed by the King's Solicitors, and the Under-Sheriff; Admit of Jury-men who are not Freeholders; Receive ſuch Evidence as is above-mentioned; Refuſe a Copy of an Indictment, or to Suffer the Statute of 46. *Ed.* 3. to be read, that doth expreſly Enact, it ſhould in no Caſe be denied unto any Man upon any occaſion whatſoever; Over-rule the moſt important Points of Law without hearing. And whereas the Stat. 25. *Ed.* 3. upon which they ſaid I ſhould be Tried, doth Reſerve unto the Parliament all Conſtructions to be made in Points of Treaſon. They could aſſume unto themſelves not only a Power to make Conſtructions, but ſuch Conſtructions as neither agree with Law, Reaſon, or Common Senſe.

By theſe means I am brought to this Place. The Lord forgive theſe Practices, and avert the Evils that threaten the Nation from them. The Lord ſanctify theſe my Sufferings unto me; and tho I fall as a Sacrifice unto Idols, ſuffer not Idolatry to be Eſtabliſhed in this Land. Bleſs thy People, and ſave them. Defend thy own Cauſe, and defend thoſe that defend it. Stir up ſuch as are Faint; Direct thoſe that are willing; confirm thoſe that Waver; Give Wiſdom and Integrity unto all. Order all things ſo as may moſt redound unto thine own Glory. Grant that I may Die glorifying Thee for all thy Mercies; and that at the laſt Thou haſt permitted me to be Singled out as a Witneſs

of

of thy Truth; and even by the Confeſſion of my Oppoſers, for that *OLD CAUSE* in which I was from my Youth engaged, and for which thou haſt Often and Wonderfully declared thy Self.

The Laſt Speech of Col. Richard Rumbold, *at the* Market-Croſs *of* Edinburgh, *with ſeveral things that paſſed at his Tryal,* 26 June, 1685.

ABout Eleven of the Clock he was brought from the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, to the Juſtices Court, in a great Chair, on Mens Shoulders; where at firſt he was asked ſome Queſtions, moſt of which he anſwer'd with Silence; at laſt ſaid, 'He 'humbly conceived, It was not neceſſary for him to add to his own 'Accuſation, ſince he was not ignorant they had enough already to 'do his Buſineſs; and therefore he did not deſign to fret his Con-'ſcience at that time with Anſwering Queſtions. After which, his *Libel* being read, the Court proceeded in uſual manner; firſt asking him, *If he had any thing to ſay for himſelf before the Jury cloſed?* His Anſwer was, 'He owned it all, ſaving that part, of 'having Deſigned the King's Death; and deſired all preſent, to be-'lieve the words of a Dying Man; he never directly nor indirectly 'intended ſuch a Villany; that he abhorred the very thoughts of 'it; and that he bleſſed God, he had that Reputation in the 'World, that he knew none that had the Impudence to ask him 'the Queſtion; and he deteſted the thoughts of ſuch an Action; 'and he hoped all good People would believe him, which was the 'only way he had to clear himſelf; and he was ſure that this Truth 'ſhould be one day made manifeſt to all Men. He was again asked, *If he had any Exception againſt the Jury?* He anſwered 'No; but 'wiſhed them to do as God and their Conſciences directed them. Then they withdrew, and returned their Verdict in half an hour, and

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brought him in *Guilty*. The Sentence followed; *For him to be taken from that Place to the next Room, and from thence to be Drawn on a Hurdle, betwixt Two and Four of the Clock, to the Croſs of* Edinburgh, *the Place of Execution, and there to be Hang'd, Drawn and Quartered.* He received his Sentenc with an undaunted Courage and Chearfulneſs. Afterwards he was delivered into the Town-Magiſtrates Hands; they brought to him two of their Divines, and offered him their Aſſiſtance upon the Scaffold; which he altogether refuſed, telling them, 'That if they had any good Wiſhes for him, 'he deſired they would ſpend them in their own Cloſets, and leave 'him now to ſeek God in his own Way. He had ſeveral Offers of the ſame kind by others, which he put off in like manner. He was moſt ſerious and fervent in Prayers the few hours he lived (as the Sentinels obſerved, who were preſent all the while.) The Hour being come, he was brought to the Place of Execution, where he ſaluted the People on all ſides of the Scaffold, and after having refreſhed himſelf with a Cordial out of his Pocket, he was ſupported by two Men, while he ſpoke to the People in theſe words:

Gentlemen and Brethren, It is for all Men that come into the World once to Die, and after Death to Judgment; and ſince Death is a Debt that all of us muſt pay, it is but a matter of ſmall moment what way it be done; and ſeeing the Lord is pleaſed in this manner to take me to himſelf, I confeſs, ſomething hard to Fleſh and Blood, yet, Bleſſed be his Name, who hath made me not only Willing, but Thankful for his honouring me to lay down the Life he gave, for his Name; in which, were every Hair in this Head and Beard of mine a Life, I ſhould joyfully ſacrifice them for it, as I do this: And Providence having brought me hither, I think it moſt neceſſary to clear my ſelf of ſome Aſperſions laid on my Name; and firſt, *That I ſhould have had ſo horrid an Intention of Deſtroying the King and his Brother.*

[Here he repeated what he had ſaid before to the Juſtices on this Subject.]

It was alſo laid to my Charge, That I was Antimonarchical.

It was ever my Thoughts, That Kingly Government was the beſt of all, Juſtly Executed: I mean, ſuch as by our ancient Laws; that is, a King, and a Legal Free Choſen Parliament. The King having, as I conceive, Power enough to make him Great, the People alſo as much Property as to make them Happy; they being as it were contracted to one another. And who will deny me, that this was not the Juſt Conſtituted Government of our Nation? How abſurd is it then for

Men

Men of Senſe to maintain, That though the one Party of this Contract breaketh all Conditions, the other ſhould be obliged to perform their Part? No; this Error is contrary to the Law of God, the Law of Nations, and the Law of Reaſon. But as Pride hath been the Bait the Devil hath catched moſt by, ever ſince the Creation, ſo it continues to this day with us. Pride cauſed our firſt Parents to fall from the bleſſed Eſtate wherein they were created; they aiming to be Higher and Wiſer than God allowed, which brought an everlaſting Curſe on them and their Poſterity. It was Pride cauſed God to Drown the Old World. And it was Nimrod's *Pride in building* Babel, *that cauſed that heavy Curſe of Diviſion of Tongues to be ſpread among us, as it is at this day. One of the greateſt Afflictions the Church of God groaneth under, That there ſhould be ſo many Diviſions during their Pilgrimage here; but this is their Comfort, that the Day draweth near, whereas there is but One Shepheard, there ſhall be but One Sheepfold. It was therefore in the Defence of this Party, in their Juſt Rights and Liberties, againſt Popery and Slavery——*

[At which words they Beat the Drums:] To which he ſaid;

They need not trouble themſelves; for he ſhould ſay no more of his Mind on that Subject, ſince they were ſo diſingenuous, as to interrupt a Dying Man, only to aſſure the People, he adhered to the True Proteſtant Religion, *deteſting the erroneous Opinions of many that called themſelves ſo; and I Die this day in the Defence of the ancient Laws and Liberties of theſe Nations: And though God, for Reaſons beſt known to himſelf, hath not ſeen it fit to honour Us, as to make Us the Inſtruments for the Deliverance of his People; yet as I have Lived, ſo I Die in the Faith, that he will ſpeedily ariſe for the Deliverance of his Church and People. And I deſire all of you to prepare for this with ſpeed. I may ſay, This is a deluded Generation, vail'd with Ignorance, that though* Popery *and* Slavery *be riding in upon them, do not perceive it; though I am ſure there was no Man born marked of God above another; for none comes into the World with a Saddle on his Back, neither any Booted and Spurr'd to Ride to him; not but that I am well ſatisfied, that God hate wiſely ordered different Stations for Men in the World, as I have already ſaid: Kings having as much Power as to make them Great, and the People as much Property as to make them Happy. And to conclude; I ſhall only add my Wiſhes for the Salvation of all Men, who were created for that end.*

Affir

After ending these words, he prayed most fervently near three quarters of an hour, freely forgiving all Men, even his greatest Enemies, begging most earnestly for the Deliverance of *Sion* from all her Persecutors, particularly praying for *London*, *Edinburgh*, and *Dublin*, *from which the Streams run that Rule God's People in these three Nations.*

Being asked some hours before his Execution, *If he thought not his Sentence Dreadful?* He answered, *He wished he had a Limb for every Town in* Christendom.

The Last Speech of Madam LISLE, *Beheaded at* Winchester, *in* September, 1685.

Gentlemen, Friends and Neighbours;

IT may be expected, that I should say something at my Death, my Birth and Education being near this place. My Parents instructed me in the Fear of God; and I now Die of the Reformed Religion; always being instructed in that Belief, that if *Popery* should return into this Nation, it would be a great Judgment. I Die in Expectation of Pardon of my Sins, and Acceptation with the Father, by the imputed Righteousness of Jesus Christ; *He being the End of the Law for Righteousness to every one that believeth.* I thank God, through Christ Jesus, I depart under the Blood of Sprinkling, *that speaketh better things than that of* Abel; God having made this Chastisement an Ordinance to my Soul. I did as little expect to come to this place on this Occasion, as any Person in this Nation; therefore let all learn not to be High-minded, but Fear. The Lord is a Sovereign, and will take what way he seeth best to Glorifie himself by his poor Creatures; therefore I humbly desire to submit to his Will, praying of him, That in Patience I may possess my Soul.

The Crime was, my Entertaining a Non-Conformist Minister, which is since sworn to have been in the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Army. I am told, if I had not denied them, it would not have affected me: I have no Excuse, but Surprize and Fear; which I believe my Jury must make use of to excuse their Verdict to the World. I have been told, *That the Court ought to be Counsel for the Prisoner*: Instead of *Advice*, there was *Evidence* given from thence, which (though it was but Hear-say) might possibly affect my Jury. My Defence was such as might be expected from a weak Woman; but such as it was, I never heard it repeated again to the Jury.

But I forgive all Persons that have wronged me; and I desire that God will do so likewise. I forgive Col. *Penruddock*, although he told me, *He could have taken those Men before they came to my House*.

As to what may be expected for my Conviction, That I gave it under my Hand, that I discours'd with *Nelthrop*: that could be no Evidence to the Court or Jury, it being after my Conviction and Sentence.

I acknowledge His Majesty's Favour, in Revoking my Sentence; and I pray God he may long Reign in Mercy as well as Justice, and that he may Reign in Peace, and that the True Religion may Flourish under him.

Two things I have omitted to say, which is, That I forgive him that desired to be taken from the *Grand Jury*, and put upon the *Petty Jury*, that he might be the more nearly concerned in my Death: And return humble Thanks to God, and the Reverend Clergy, that assisted me in my Imprisonment.

Sept. 85. *Alicia Lisle.*

SOME

Some Paſſages of Henry Corniſh, *Eſq; before his Sufferings.*

COming into the Preſs-yard, and ſeeing the Halter in the Officers Hand, he ſaid, *Is this for me?* The Officer anſwer'd, *Yes*; he replied, *Bleſſed be God*, and Kiſſed it; and after ſaid, " O bleſſed be God for *Newgate*, I have enjoyed " God ever ſince I came within theſe Walls, and bleſſed be God " who hath made me fit to die. I am now going to that God that " will not be mocked, to that God that will not be impoſed upon, " to that God that knows the Innocency of his poor Creature. And a little after, he ſaid, " Never did any poor Creature come " unto God with greater Confidence in his Mercy, and Aſſurance " of Acceptation with him, through Jeſus Chriſt, than I do: but " it is through Jeſus Chriſt, for there is no other way of coming " to God but by him, to find acceptance with him; there is no " other Name given under Heaven whereby we can be ſaved, but " the Name of Jeſus. Then ſpeaking to the Officers, he ſaid, " Labour every one of you to be fit to die: I was not fit to Die " my ſelf till I came in hither; but O bleſſed be God, he hath made " me fit to die, and hath made me willing to die! In a few mo- " ments I ſhall have the Fruition of the Bleſſed Jeſus, and that not " for a day, but for ever: I am going to the Kingdom of God, " where I ſhall enjoy the preſence of God the Father, and of God " the Son, and of God the Holy Spirit, and of all the Holy An- " gels; I am going to the general Aſſembly of the Firſt-born, and " of the Spirits of juſt Men made perfect: O that God ſhould " ever do ſo much for me! O that God ſhould concern himſelf ſo " much for the good of poor Creatures, for their Salvation, bleſſed " be his Name! For this was the deſign of God from all Eternity, " to give his only Son to die for poor miſerable Sinners. Then the Officers going to tye his Hands, he ſaid, " What, muſt I be tyed " then? Well, a brown Thred might have ſerved the turn; you

" need not tye me at all, I ſhall not ſtir from you, for I thank " God I am not afraid to die. As he was going out, he ſaid, " Farewel *Newgate*, Farewel all my Fellow-Priſoners here, the " Lord comfort you, the Lord be with you all.

The Subſtance of Alderman Cornish's *Speech at the Place of Execution*, Octob. 23. 1685. *taken by one of his Servants.*

I Am come here this day, Condemned to die; but God is my Witneſs, the Crimes laid to my Charge were falſely and maliciouſly ſworn againſt me by the Witneſſes; for I never was at any Conſult, nor any Meeting where Matters againſt the Government were diſcours'd of: I never heard nor read any Declaration, nor ever acted wilfully any thing againſt the Government. I confeſs, through the Juſtice of God, my private Sins have brought me to this Infamous End; yea, it were juſt with God, not only to deprive me eternally of his Preſence, but to condemn me to Eternal Torments, but through Chriſt, I hope to be eternally Bleſſed: Yet as to the Crimes for which I ſuffer, on the Words of a dying Man, I am altogether Innocent. I bleſs God I was from my younger Years brought up in, and have for ſome Years continued a Proteſtant, in the Communion of the Church of *England*, in which Communion I now die: I have often partaken in the Ordinances, the bleſſed Effects and Comfort thereof I now feel in this my Agony. I bleſs God I was born under a Government, in the Conſtitution of which I did ever acquieſce, and in which I was once a Member; at which time I did, according to the beſt of my Underſtanding,—— [*Here he was interrupted by the Sheriff.*] —— I bleſs God I was born in a Land of Light, where the Goſpel hath been Preach'd in Power and Purity; He might have brought me forth in a Land of Darkneſs and Ignorance, but bleſſed be God for Jeſus Chriſt.—— *Then he intreated the Sheriff to Intercede with his Majeſty to be kind to his poor Wife and Children: The Sheriff promiſed him to wait on his Majeſty the next day about it. He replied*, Mr. Sheriff, I thank you, the Lord reward you a thouſandfold; the Lord put it into the Hearts of you to be kind to the Widdows and Fatherleſs, it is your Duty: The Lord

Lord put it into the Hearts of all good People to Pray for me.

More could not be taken, by reaſon of the Noiſe of the People, and Interruption of one of the Sheriffs.

The SPEECH *of Captain* WALCOT, *on* Friday *the* 20th *of* July, 1683.

THIS great Concourſe of People do not only come here to ſee me Die, but alſo to hear what I ſhall ſay; and becauſe I would not be Reproached, and thought to be an Atheiſt when I am gone, I have two or three words to ſpeak for my Religion. I do believe in Three Perſons, and one God, and I expect and hope to be Saved by the Merits and Righteouſneſs of his Son Chriſt Jeſus, without the hope of an advantage by any Merits or Righteouſneſs of my own. And I believe that the Scriptures of the Old and New Teſtament are the Word of God; that *They were not written according to the will of Man, but holy Men of God writ them as they were inſpired by the Holy Ghoſt.*

I believe that theſe Scriptures ought to be the Rule of our Faith, and the method of our Worſhipping of God: I believe that as Chriſt is the Head of his Church, ſo he is their Law-giver. That it is not in the power of any Council or Conclave of Cardinals, or any Power upon Earth whatſoever, to ſet up the Precepts and Traditions of Men, and to make them of equal validity with the Word of God. I believe it was not becauſe the *Jews* rejected and Crucified Chriſt, that he rejected them, but becauſe they rejected his Word; which appears by the Three thouſand that God by one Sermon of *Peter*'s converted; they being *pricht in their hearts, and touched in their Conſciences*, cried out, *Men and Brethren, what ſhall we do?* And they were *that day added to the Church.* It was certainly becauſe the *Jews* rejected the Word and Goſpel of Chriſt, that *the things were hid from their Eyes which belonged to their peace.* It is a dreadful thing to reject the Word of God; and it is a dreadful thing to live in a ſinful courſe of Life, till God withdraws his

Spirit

Spirit from us; For it is ſaid, *It ſhall not always ſtrive with Man. Death is the wages of Sin.* I believe had not *Adam* ſinned, he and we his Poſterity had not died. Death is ſaid to be the *King of Terrours*, but it is only ſo to thoſe that are terrified with a Terrifying Conſcience, that have the Arrows of the Almighty ſticking in them, from convictions of great Guilt, and ſee no hopes of Mercy, have no aſſurance of Pardon; but thoſe that are Chriſt's, he takes away the Terrour, and Horrour, and Sting of Death; he enables them to ſay with *Paul*, *To me to live is Chriſt, and to die is Gain:* He enables not only to get *unto* Chriſt, but *into* Chriſt; and ſo they have *Communion and Fellowſhip with the Father and the Son.* It is no hard matter to get the Notions of the Promiſes of the Goſpel into our Heads; but unleſs the Lord is pleaſed to apply them to our Hearts, we cannot believe: Except we be *in Chriſt as branches in the Vine*, we are not Chriſtians indeed. It was the Caſe of poor *Francis Spira*; he was certainly a knowing Man, but notwithſtanding he had not Faith to apply the Promiſes. Chriſt hath ſaid, that *he that believes in him, though he were dead, yet ſhall he live; and he that lives and believes in him, ſhall never die.* So if we be able to apply the Promiſes by the Spirit of God, we may have comfort through Faith: But then *Faith is the gift of God*, and *Faith comes by hearing* the Word of God, and receiving it in the love of God.

I ſhall not be tedious, Mr. Sheriff, I ſhall be very ſhort.

Mr. *Sheriff.* Take your own time.

Walcot. As to the preſent occaſion of my Death, I do neither blame the Judges, nor the Jury, nor the King's Counſel: I only blame ſome Men that in reality and in truth were deeper concerned, and more engaged than I, that came in as Witneſſes againſt me; who Swore me out of my Life to ſave their own, and who for fear they ſhould not do it effectually, contrived that, That I will appeal to you all, whether there be a probability in it or not: For they ſaid, I made it a ſcruple of Conſcience to have a hand in killing the King, or to imbrue my hands in his Blood, but was ſo generous as to undertake the Charging his Guards, whilſt others did it, and to the end another might do it. Truly I will appeal to all that know me, whether they believe me ſo much an Ideot, that I ſhould not underſtand it was the ſame thing to engage the King's Guards, whilſt another Killed him, as to Kill him with my own hands. But however, by their Swearing againſt me, they have ſecured their own

own Lives and Eſtates, and made my Blood the price of theirs. I confeſs I was ſo unfortunate and unhappy, as to be invited by Colonel *Rumſey*, (one of the Witneſſes againſt me) to ſome Meetings, where ſome things were diſcourſed of, in order to the aſſerting our Liberties and Properties, which we looked upon to be violated and invaded. But it was he, and Mr. *W.* and ſome Gentlemen that are fled, who were the great promoters of thoſe Meetings. I was near a quarter of a Year ill of the Gout, and during that time Mr. *W.* often viſited me, and ſtill his diſcourſe would be, concerning *Lopping the Two Sparks*; That was the word he uſed, meaning the King and the Duke; and propoſed it might be done at a Play: This was his frequent diſcourſe: For he ſaid, *Then they would die in their Calling:* It was his very Expreſſion. He bought Arms to do it with, without any direction of mine; I never ſaw the Arms, nor I never ſaw the Men that were to do it: though they ſaid they had Fifty imployed to that end. I told ſeveral of them, That the Killing the King would carry ſuch a blemiſh and ſtain with it, as would deſcend to Poſterity; that I had Eight Children, that I was loth ſhould be blemiſhed with it: And withal, I was confident the Duke of *Monmouth* would revenge his Fathers Blood, if it were but to vindicate himſelf from having any hand in it.

And now I deſire to forgive all the World from the very bottom of my Heart; and I pray God of his Mercy from my Heart to forgive them, even Mr. *Shepherd*, who delivered me up, who promiſed to carry me into *Holland*, but inſtead of that, he brought me into the condition wherein I now am. I do deſire with all my Heart to forgive the Witneſſes, and withal do earneſtly beg that they may be obſerved, that ſome Remarks may be ſet upon them, whether *their End be Peace*, and that *they die the common Death of all Men.* Certainly, though it be the Law of the Land I ought to Die, and the King may juſtly and reaſonably put me to Death for being in thoſe Meetings where a War was debated; yet I think theſe Men are guilty of my Blood, that were as deep in as I, and have betrayed me, and taken it away. Then in the next place I beg leave, Mr. Sheriff, to ſpeak one ſhort word of Advice to my Friends, that hath been often given to me, though I was not ſo fortunate and ſo happy as to take it, and that is, That they would neither hear any Man ſpeak, nor ſpeak themſelves, that which they would not have repeated: For there is no ſuch thing as Faith in Man to Man, whatever there is in Man to God: Either the Tears of a

Wife,

Wife, or a Family of little helpleſs Children, ſomething or other will tempt and provoke Men to betray one another. When God hath a Work to do, he will not want Inſtruments, for he can make them; nor will he want a way to do it, for he can contrive it and bring it to paſs. And I do moſt heartily deſire, and my earneſt Prayer to the Almighty is, That this may be the laſt Blood ſpilt upon this account. I know Acts of Indulgence and Mercy in the King would make him much eaſier in his Government, and would make his People ſit much eaſier under it; and that the Lord may encline his Heart to mercy, ought to be the Prayer of every good Man. What hath happened, and what hath been the preſent occaſion of our Calamity, I ſuppoſe every man knows; what Provocations have been on the one hand, Fears and Neceſſities, Jealouſies and Sufferings of the other, I will not intermeddle with, reſolving to uſe my utmoſt endeavour to make that Peace and Reconciliation with my God, which is impoſſible for me to make with Man; and to make it my hearty Prayer to the Great God before whom I am in a little time to appear, That he would ſtench this Iſſue of Blood, and find out ſome other way to preſerve theſe Kingdoms in Unity and Peace; to the Honour and Glory of his Great Name, and the eternal Comfort of his People.

One word, Mr. Sheriff, I deſire to ſpeak as to *Ireland*, becauſe the King preſt it hard upon me, and ſeveral People have been with me about *Ireland*, how far *Ireland* was concerned in this matter. I do aver here, as in the preſence of God, before whom I am now going to appear, That I do not know an Engliſhman nor Proteſtant in *Ireland* engaged in it. What I did know, was only of one Scotiſh Gentleman in the North; and the King knows it, but he ſays he does not believe it. For they that were concerned, I was never in any of their Councils: I never ſaw any of thoſe Lords, but the Duke of *Monmouth*, and that was I believe above ſix Months ago. I never ſaw nor ſpoke with one Lord, only my Lord *Howard*.

I have not more to ſay, Mr. Sheriff: But truly you will do an act of a great deal of Charity, if you will Prevail with the King for an Act of Indulgence and Liberty to his People; I think ſo: And ſo the Lord have mercy upon me.

Captain

Captain *Walcot's* Prayer.

O Lord, our God, Thou art a God of preſent help in time of Trouble, a God, that haſt promiſed to be with thy People in the Fire and in the Water. O Lord, we pray Thee, that Thou wilt afford thy Preſence to thy poor ſuffering Servants at this time, that Thou wilt enable us to pray with Faith, to truſt in Thee, to be in expectation and hope of Mercy from Thee. O Lord, thy Servant that ſpeaketh doth confeſs, that the Iniquities at his Heels have juſtly overtaken him, that Juſt and Righteous art thou in all thy Judgments; that he hath reaſon to bear thy Indignation, becauſe he hath ſinned. O Lord, we beg, even for thy Son Chriſt Jeſus's ſake, that our Sins may not be brought to our remembrance in order to our deſpondency or diſcouragement, or our deſpairing in thy Mercy, but rather, O Lord, in order to an aſſurance that our great God hath pardoned and forgiven them in the Blood of his Son. O do thou bathe each of our Souls in that Fountain ſet open for Sin and for Uncleanneſs. Give us, O Lord, inward ſpiritual ſtrength from thy Self, and give us cauſe to bleſs thy Name for inward ſupporting Graces, for inward aſſiſtances. O let us find an increaſe of ſpiritual ſtrength, let us be aſſured that our Sins are done away, and let us alſo be aſſured that our Names are written in the Book of Life, and let it be ſuch an aſſurance as may be matter of joy and rejoycing to our Souls. O do thou enable every one of us, from the inward evidence of thy Spirit, to ſay with thy Servant Job, *That we know and are aſſured that our Redeemer lives. O do thou give us ſuch an aſſurance of an Intereſt in Thee, that we may be inabled in deed, in reality, and in truth, to ſay, that we have run our Race, and we have finiſhed our Courſe with Joy: O let us now receive the fruit of thoſe many Petitions that we have put up unto Thee. O let us now find the Spirit influencing our Hearts to a yielding patience, and a thorow ſubjection to the Will of God: Let us find thy Spirit aſſuring us that we are thine. O let us have ſtronger Evidences of thy Love, ſtronger Teſtimonies of thy Affection: O give us ſome inward Taſtes of thoſe Heavenly Joys that we hope through the Mercy of Jeſus Chriſt, in a little time to have a more full Fruition of. O Lord, do thou ſpeak Peace to every one of our Conſciences; ena-*

ble us to take hold of thy Strength that thou mayeſt make Peace with us, and let us not be diſcouraged, O Lord, ſince we have a High Prieſt that can be touched with our Infirmities: Let us with Boldneſs have Acceſs to the Throne of Grace, that we may obtain Mercy and Grace to help in time of need. O take away the Sting and Terror that is in Death in any one of us, by aſſuring us of our Intereſt in Thee, by aſſuring us that our Names are Recorded in the Book of Life; though we lie under a Sentence of Death from Man, we beg that we may have a Sentence of Life Eternal from our God; and though we meet Thee, O Lord, in a Field of Blood, we beg that Thou wilt come to meet with us in a Field of Mercy. O Lord, extend thy Mercy, thou Lord, whoſe Compaſſions fail not, cauſe the Bowels of thy tender Pity to yearn with Compaſſion towards us: Enable every one of us, O Lord, to die believing in Jeſus Chriſt, to die hoping in his Mercy, to die, relying upon him for Juſtification, for Sanctification, and for Adoption. O Lord, though we have been Prodigals, we deſire to return unto our Fathrrs Houſe where there is Bread enough. O enable us to come unto Thee as Children to their Parents. O let our Prayers be offered with ſo much Fervour in Chriſt Jeſus, that Thou may'ſt think it reaſonable to aſſure us of thy Love. O let the Interceſſion of Jeſus Chriſt be accepted. O Lord, we beg that he may be our Advocate; if our Advocate be our Judg, certainly we cannot miſcarry. O let Jeſus Chriſt be the Hope of every one of our Souls; and, Lord, let not our Hope be like that of the Hypocrite, but let our Faith be built upon the Rock of Ages, and let us not fail from the apprehenſion of Affliction and Puniſhment from Men. Yet, O Lord, do thou ſo order our Hearts and our Spirits aright, that thou mayeſt be the Lot of our Inheritance, and our Portion for ever. O do thou intereſt us in thy Self, Lord, carry on thy own Work. We deſire to come unto Thee that we may have Life. Lord help us, Lord put to thy helping Hand, Lord teach us truly to leave no Sin unrepented of in any one of our Hearts. And O Lord, we beg that with us thou wilt give us leave to recommend unto thy Care our poor Wives and Children: Thou haſt promiſed to be the Father of the Fatherleſs, and the Husband of the Widdow; and thou haſt commanded us to caſt the Care of them upon Thee. O do thou make Proviſion for them, deal kindly with them, imprint thy own Image upon them, and enable them to bear this ſevere ſtroke with Patience. O Lord, ſtand by and ſupport them; let their Ways be found

found ſo pleaſing and acceptable unto Thee, that thou may'ſt think it reaſonable to make all their Enemies at Peace. Lord. intereſt them in thy Love, and do thou favour them with thy Mercies and loving-kindneſſes. O Lord, we alſo beſeech Thee in the behalf of theſe poor Kingdoms wherein we are, that Thou wilt be merciful to them, prevent Diviſions among them, heal all their Breaches, compoſe their Differences, make all that are thine of one Heart and Mind in the things of thee our God. And, Lord, if it be thy Will, do thou rule in the Heart of the King, that he may Rule and Reign for Thee, and for the good of thy Church and People. Lord, favour us with thy Mercy, aſſure us of thy Love, ſtand by us in the difficult Hour, take us into thine own Care, cauſe thy Angels to attend us, to convey our Souls as ſoon as they are divided from our Bodies, into Abraham's *Boſom, into the Paradiſe of our God. And, Lord, we beg that thou wilt be with us, with thy extraordinary Preſence, helping us to truſt in Thee, doing for us beyond what our narrow Hearts are able to ask or think. All which we beg for the ſake of thy Son Jeſus Chriſt, in whom, O Lord, this little time do thou give us Hearts to give thee all Glory, Honour, and Praiſe, now and for evermore,* Amen. Sweet Jeſus, Amen.

FINIS.